STAR....Extra. THE OHIO

RAVENNA, MONDAY, OCT OBER 4, 1852.

DOCUMENTS FOR THE TIMES.

THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY.

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THE ACCOUNTS THE TIMES.

In the Hour of Representatives, August 17, 1802.

Mr. OF ALEXACTUREYTY.

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referring to facts which, as everybody knows, have become history.

Here, then, we see that the two conspicuous leaders of the Northern Democrats and Whigs planted themselves upon Southern ground. When the race for the Presidency consisted in adhesion to the alary power alone, it was not to be expected the competitiors would be few. Mr. Buchanan forthwith caused it to be understood, that on his part he was willing to run the line of 36 deg. 30 min—the Missouri compromise line, so called—through to the Pacific Oceon, and surrender to slavery all upon its Southern side. Mr. Dallas, late Vice President under Mr. P.c.la, in his letter to Mr. Bryran, of Taxan, went further, and proposed to incorporate the campromise measures, and the fugitive slave law itself, into the Constitution, so as to put their repeal beyond the power of a Northern majority. Sonator Douglass followed. He sugared his pill. He told the South, that we had cotton lands, and rice lands, and tobacco lands enough, but alas, said he, time, affairs were ripening for the Baltimore nominations.

Mr. Filinore offered to the South, the Army and Navy to eatch a poor fugitive, where only a con-table posee was needed.

Mr. Webster trumped up false treasons by scores against Northern anti-alaysry men. The President travelled Nor h and South making appealess redolent of pro-slavery.—The Secretary travelled still muse.

THE BALTIMORE CONVENTIONS RESOLVING AGAINST PREE DISCUSSION.

I come new to the Baltimore Conventions themselves, which were held in June last. Every one knows that the reat question of human slavery, had a controlling influence in these bodies, and determined their results. What a vast anjority of their members, pro-slavery or anti-slavery was the necessary many and the permutation of the permu one overmestering motive and end. In the Democratic Convention, the pro-slavery sentiment was nearly unanimous.—
Its mombers had been sold into that perdition by the list of money or the ambition for office. Yet even they were held in check by the apprehended voice of the people behind them. If they did not recoil from the crime, they feared its punishment. In the Whig Convention, the men who were ready to sacrifices honor, duty, religion, to the demands of slavery, was a large majority, and might have iominated their most ultra pro-slavery candidate on the first bailot. They could have effected this just as seasily as they effected their pro-slavery candidate on the first bailot. They could have effected this just as seasily as they effected their pro-slavery most and appointed a committee on credentials who excluded suit-slavery men, and a committee on resolutions who accepted a Southern platform prepared for them beforehand by Southern hands. But these Belshatzars, too, like him of old, saw the hand-writing upon the wall, and they who accepted a Suttlera hands. But these Belshazzars, too, lik him of old, saw the band-writing upon the wall, and the knew that with such a candidate, they were doomed to utte and remorseless defeat before the people. In both Convertions, however, the spirit of slavery was no strong and a badly brave, as to carry the resolutions I am about to read-The Democratic Convention resolved to—

"abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the act

And further, they "Residued, That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Conceived and acquiesced in sy the waits of the other state of the sub-ta final settlement, in principle and substance, of the sub-cis to which they relate."

"And we precent all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as integerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to infinue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or

OUTRAGE AND INSANITY. Now, what an outrage is this: Does not our Constitution provide against "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press?" Why secure this freedom in the organic law, if the tyramiy of a social law can abolish it! Of what value is that provision in the Constitution, which secures the free exercise of religion, if social intolerance and bigotry, acting in an unlegalized way, can destroy it! Yet, here are two conventions, atterly unknown to any of our consultations, whether State or National, invested with no powers, legislative judicial, or executive, coming together for a day, and then scattered and sunk in individual obscurity; yet lifting up their pigmy voices against the mightiest impulses of the human teart, against history and Providence, against the flat and she spirit of God himself, resolving that mankind shall be dumb in regard to the greatest of human wrongs; and resolving, also, that a law passed by a Republican Government, yet as barbarous and lyramical as was ever made by any despotism shall be consecrated in its wickedness, and remain sternal.

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Two Baltimore Conventions, assuming to quench the eternal spirit of liberty—that spirit which was a part of the inspiration of the prophets of old, when they commanded the tyrants of the earth to "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free;" that spirit which gave all its heroism and splendor to the classic land of Greece, and made its memories immortal; that spirit which gave to Rome its collosal proportions of physical and intellectual grendeur; that spirit which, in the darkest night of the world's history, climbed Alpine heights and sheltered itself in the fastnesses of Alpine heights and sheltered itself in the fastnesses of Alpine mountains, inaccessible to tyrants; which, at another time, found protection within the dykes of Holland, barring out the rage of the ocean, and the more remorseless rage of despotic men; that spirit which has given to England, and to the graitfude of mankind, and which, when persecuted and driven from England, crossed the Atlantic, spread itself over this open continent, and having been nursed by more than two hundred years of struggle and discipline, new bids definance to the world—this God-like spirit of liberty, immortal, invulnerable and indestructable, two ephemeral Baltimore Conventions undertake to ban; Xerxes chaining the Heleapont was wisdom personified compared with them; ay, it would be too dignified and bonorable an illustration to compare them to two old male Mrs. Partingtons, mopping out the Allantic!

Why did not these insane men propose to do something which is at least cone-ivable! Why did they not propose to to turn back the order of physical events, rather than to violate the more infrangible and incorable and inductive towards Arctures and the Fleiades, and attempt to move round the constillations of the heavens as you would move round the constillations of the heavens as you would move round the constillations of the heaven

Let us see, for a moment, what is the nature or the burden that this Baltimore Convention hus taken upon themselves. By forquiding us to speak upon a given subject, and see if daty does not require us to speak upon it. They leave us no option; and if the discussion shall prove unpalatable, they may think themselves for provoking it. Let me inquire, then, whether it be not demonstrable that the relation of slavery between man and man comprehends, perpetuates, multiplies, and aggravates all formes of crimes which it is possible for a human being to commit. Is the steading, even of a shilling, a crime! Slavery steals all that man call his own; and is not the whole greater than a La rybbery, which is defined to be the taking of any

WE RECOGNISE SLAVE NATIONS WITH ALACRITY.

When a nation is born into the world, possessing attributes and prerogatives of nationality, it is the moral duty of existing nations to welcome it into the brotherhood of the human family. Such recognition of a new sovereignty tends to increase commerce, to forefond war, and to diffuse the blessings of knowledge, science, and the arts. It becomes, therefore, a duty. Yet, what is the posture in which this Government stands to Liberia and Haytil Great Britain, with France, Prussia, and other continents nations. have acknowledged their existence. We refuse, and stand aloof.—And this for no other reason than to gratify a colorphobia which dreads equity as the hydrophobia does water. Writers on national law call nations a moral entity. We find color a moral entity and repudiate its claims. Contrast the alacrity of this Government in recognizing slaveholding Texas, with its utter refusal, for a quarter of a century in one case; and for half a century in the other, to recognize the Free Soil government of Liberia and Hayti. This is one of the collateral wrongs growing out of the repugnance of slavery to do justice to the colored man anywhere; and thetaint of this moral disease at the South spreads its infection over the North.

mise line, so called—through to the Pacific Oceon, and surrender to slavery all upon its Southern side. Mr. Dallas,
late Vice President under Mr. P cik, in his letter to Mr. Beyran, of Texas, went further, and proposed to incorporate the
compromise measures, and the fugitive slavel aw itself, into
the Constitution, so as to put their repeal beyond the power
of a Northern majority. Sensior Doughass followed. He
surared his pill. He told the South, that we had cotton lands,
and rice lands, and tobacco lands enough; but alas, said be,
we want more lands for sugar; by which the South perfectly
understood that if they would make him President, the annexation of Cuba should be their reward. This is the same
gentlemen who has lately said, in a secret session of the Senate, that if the Sandwich Islands should be annexed to this
country, and a question should arise about excluding slavery
from them by law, he would vote against it During this
from them by law, he would vote against it During this
from them by law, he would vote against it During this
from them by law, are ripening for the Baltimore nominations. GOD EGREGEDAINED SLAVERY? throne; that he has seen with approval, within the last three centuries, forty millions of native Africans,—yes, sir, forty millions, for that is the estimated number—almost doule the entire population of this country, and more than one-third more than the present population of Great Britain and Irreland put together—of native Africans, torn from their homes and driven through gates of fire and realms of torture, to bondage and to death; that, during all this period. He has looked with delight upon the most frightful forms of war, the pillage and conflagration of cities, and wholesale murders, and man-stealing worse than murder, not only raging along the eastern and western shores of that devoted continent, but at times extending their ravages and havec twelve or thirteen hundred miles inland; and that His benign providence is being fulfilled by the successful prosecution of the slave trade though for every thousand human victims in Africa, it is estimated that only three hundred finally reach their earth-born hell of Cuban or Brazillan sugar or cotton fields. Now that God sent out slaves from Africa to America, at this inconceiveable cost of crime on the one innd, and of suffering on the other; that his providence has raised up housts of friends in the shape of men, cantury after century, for throundabout purpose of carrying Christianity and civilization into Africa, in some remote age, we know not when;—this is the blasphemous doctrine we are made to hear from the pulpit itself!

litical rostrum, the lecture-room, and, incredible, to relate, from the pulph itself!

Now, I say, sir, that to impute any such cruel-hearted and simpleton-minded scheme to our All-wise and benignant Father in Heaven, is wild and wanton implety and blasphemy. No parallel can be found in heathen mythology where such short sighted folly and crime have been charged upon any of the bloody gods of all their pantheons. The very hypothesis is founded on an inversion of history, and it presupposes for its conception a perversion of the human intellect.

CAUSE OF APRICAN BARBARISM—THE SLAVE TRADE, &c.

The system of ensiaving Africans was commenced in ancient times by the Egyptians and the Ai abs, and carried on in later periods by the Moors. Was that for the sake of carrying Christianity into Africal In modern times, the same system, with unspeakable agravations, has been prosecuted by all the commercial nations of Europs and of this continent. From time immemorial, therefore, Africa has been made the hunting ground of the man-stealer. For thirty or forty centuries, malice and mammon have wreaked their ven geance upon that devoted land.

All crimes and calamities, confiagration, pestilence, brutality and havoc,—fave been poured over it in crimson floods.—To confine our views within the three last centuries alone, who can adequately conceive the effects of robbing a continent of forty millions of people in so brief a period, with all the wars, devastations, cruclities and treacheries, which stand out as the terrific incidents of such a stupendous crime! Not has this storm of wrath extended itself upon the coasts.

the wars, devastations, crucities and treacheries, which stand out as the terrific incidents of such a stupendous crime! Not has this storm of wrath extended itself upon the coasts alone. As I said before, these man-hunting forays and ravages have swept inland for twelve or thirteen hundred miles,—further than from the Atlantic to the Mississippi—as for as from the Gulf of Mexico to the great lakes. Such has been the diffusive character of this continent-overwhelming crime. And it is in this that we find the cause of Africa's degredation,—not the hopes of her redemption. The white man has created the very barbarism which he now implously uses before Heaven as an excuse for the crime of creating it. Foreign intercourse engrafted the full developed vices and crimes of civilization, which as they now profancly contend, the further sin of slavery is to supply. The cause of African barbarism was slavery; and, according to the argument, the remedy is slavery. The white man clutches the profits, while he throws off the wickedness upon God. But what kind of a God does he give the black man, who suffers equally both from disease and remedy!

Mr. Mason. I desire to ask the gentieman from Massachusetts a single question. I wish to call his attention to the fact which I learn from the history of the race, that the three millions of negroes in the United States who are slaves' are in a better condition, physically and morally, than any three millions so fat African race that have existed since we have any authentic accounts of them. I ask the gentleman whether he does not consider the improvement in the moral

have any authentic accounts of them. I ask the gentleman whether he does not consider the improvement in the mora and physical condition of these negroes, sufficient to com-terbalance the evils which necessarily grow out of the insti-

unit, in consequence of taking a portion of their uncestors from them.

Mr. Mason. What would have been the condition of these three millions of negroes, had not their ancestors been brought to this country? Would they not, by degradation and starvation, have gone out of existence?

Mr. Mann. They would never have come into existence; but their places amongst us would have been occupied by a white population of our own race, or of some race kindred to our own. Other men would have been substituted for them—whites for blacks, freemen for silves.

Mr. Mason. Are not our slaves better off, both morally

Mr. Mann. Before the gentleman institutes a comp Mr. Mann. Before the gentleman institutes a comparison between the moral and physical condition of the black race here and in Africa, he must see what has caused their degradation at home. Remember the awful facts that forty millions of the best of them—selected men and women—within the last three centuries, have been torn from home, and that these ravages have not been continued to the eastern and wostern shores, but have pierced inland; so that the country has bled at every pore—at every vital organ—and concieve, if mortal imagination can conceive, what effect this, of itself, must have in making and keeping a people barbarian. And after all, what has been the social condition of the inferior tribes, who have had less communication, and been less contribes. must have in making and keeping a people barbarian. And after all, what has been the social condition of the inferior tribes, who have had less communication, and been less corrupted by the "lower law" nations? Travelers inform us that, generally speaking, they are a mild, decile, peaceable people—not aggressive and predatory, land-robbing and manhunting, like the British in India, or ourselves on this continent. They are contented, companionable, home-loving, and unwarike. Some of the early Christian Fathers, as the gentleman must well know, were Africans; and there is every reason to believe that Christianity would have apread southward from the Mediterranean into Africa, quite as fast as northward into Europe, and would even have encountered less opposition from the stern and unyleiding nature of the people, but for the demoralizing elements injected through every vein and artery of their system by the stronger nations of the earth.

Mr. Mason. I think the gentleman might give many other reasons than the one which he has named, why the Africans a have not become more civilized. I think he might find reasons for it in the history of the race for the last thousand years, and in the history of the missionaries who have gone amongst them. The Catholics have been there for several hundred years, and have established churches, but have always abandoned them; although I see by the last reports that they are trying it again. I think the gentleman could find a reason for it in the nature of the black man, as made by by his Greator. He is not capable or susceptible of any of

them are horseless and shelterless, naked and hungry.—Such is the type of the civilization which our example profers to Africa.

And how do our "lower law" apologists for slavery dispose of American coastwise slave trade among the facts of their impious argument! In 1820, Virginia had a slave population of 425,153. According to ratio of increasing the whole slave population of the United States, her slaves, in 1850 should have amounted to 800,000. But the actual number was only 472,528, that is 300,000 less than the proportionate natural increase. This number, or at least most of them, must have been sent to the South for sale.

In 1833, Professor Dew, of William and Mary College, said that Virginia exported her own native population, at the rate of 6000, for which she received \$1,200,000 annually.

So in 1820, the slave population of Maryland was 107,398. Making all due abatements for manumissions and escapes, this number should have increased, in thirty years, to nearly 200,000. But in 1850, it was 200,368. The difference has gone to the remorslass South. And doubtless, in most of these cases, members of families have been torn asunder—man from woman, parents from children.

The same slave trade is carried on from North Carolina.—The slaves are borne from the less rigorous bondage of the Northern slave States to a more unreleating prison-house.—Is this, also, in furtherance of God's gracious purpose of spreading christianity and civilization over Africa?

Our christianity assures the Triat by Jury, and the Great Writ of Freedom, to ourselves, but disfranchises and outlaws, and puts beyond the pale of human sympathy, an entire race of a different color. But when have we sent to Africa a colony of Americans to teach them the arts I When a Las Casas to teach them christianity! The missionaries we have sent them have been rum and fire-arms. The arts we have sent them have been rum and fire-arms. The arts we have sent them have been rum and fire-arms. The arts we have sent them have been rum and fire-arms. The art

SLAVERY SHOWING ITS TEETH.

Mr. Polk, (interrupting.) I ask the gentleman from Mas-achusetts to paint me the condition of the black race in the sachusetts to paint me the condition of the bluck race in the non-staveholding States.

Mr. Msn., At the proper time I will attend to that subject. It does not belong to my present course of argument.

Mr. Potk. I insist upon it now sir.
(Lond cries of "order!" "order!")

Mr. Mann. If the gentieman will show me what right he has to insist upon it, I will obey him. but not until he does.

Mr. Potk. I consider the attack which the gentiemen is making upon the South as unworthy of a member upon the floor.

(Renewed cries of "order!")
Mr. Mann. The gentleman from Tennessee must not, in
he first place, forbid our discussing the subject of slavery Mr. Polk .- I forbid nothing but slanders upon the institu

ions of the South.
(Shouts,of "Order?")
Mr. Mann.—And then when we get a chance to discuss it.

right to perpetrate such vile slanders upon the South when he does not hold himself personally responsible— (Loud shouts of "Order!"

The Charman.—The gentleman from Tennessee is out of The CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Tennessee is out of rofer and must take his seat.

Mr. Harris, of Alabama.—I rise to a question of order, and wish to have the question decided. The gentleman from Massachusettshas now been, for the last three-quarters of the Union—existing institutions, existing under the Constitution of the United States. I sak if that be in order? I call him to order upon the ground that it is not in order, and I want this question decided by the Chair.

The Chairman.—The Chair will state that the latitude of

ate upon these bills is very great, and is very ifficult in decid—Mr. Polk, (interrupting.)—I would ask the Chair one other question. Is it right that the gentleman from Massachusetts should assail an institution of the South, with which we are all connected, in a maner that is insulting in its character, when he does not hold himself responsible for his insults!

Mr. Powler.—I rise to another question of order. My question of order is this, that when the gentleman from Massactis is using his privilege, he shall be allowed to go on, and that this House shall sustain the Chair in allowing him to go forward with his remarks.

The Chairman.—The gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Mann.), will proceed.

ann,) will proceed. Mr. Polk.—He has no right to state falsehoods about one-(shouts of "Order!")
Mr. Meade.—I call for the reading of the 31st rule.
Mr. John W. Howe.—I call for the reading of the two plat

orms. (Great laughter.)
The Chair has decided that the gentleman forms. (Great laughter.)

The Chairman.—The Chair has decided that the gentleman from Massachusetts is in order and will proceed.

Mr. Meade.—The Sist rule prohibits all discussion of this question in this house, except upon a proposition to which it is germane. I ask for the reading of the rule.

The Chairman.—The Chair has already decided that the gentleman from Massachusetts is not ut of order, in pursuing this course of remark. If that decision is not saisfactory, the Chair trusts some gentleman will appeal from it.

Mr. Hurris, of Alabama.—I appeal from that decision.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio.—Very well. Let us try it on the question of order presented by those who have been in the habit of dragging every possible question into debate here.—We will see whether there is not other places in this country Mr. Polk.—I take the responsibility, and appeal from the decision of the Chair. I hold the gentleman from Ohio—Mr. Campbell—equally responsible; and I pronounce him the same vile sianderer as the gentleman from Massachusetts, who makes these charges.

(Cries of "Order!")

The 3tet rule was then read by the Clark as follows:

Cries of "Order!")
The 31st rule was then read by the Clark as follows:

ben any member is about to speak in debate, or deliver matter to the House, he shall rise from his seat, and re-fully address himself to 'Mr. Speaker,' and shall coufine spectfully address himself to 'Mr. Speaker,' and shall coutine himself to the question under dobate, and avoid personality." Mr. Mann continued: Mr. Chairman, for myself, I do not regret this interruption. But I did not think it possible even after a Baltimore ediet had gone forth, even after a Senator had been silenced at the other end of the Capit I, (Mr. Sumner,) and also a Representative on this floor, (Mr. Cleveland,) because they proposed to speak on the subject of slavery—I did not think it possible, when I was in the legitimate course of making a speach, and was rightfully entitled to the floor, and was in order, that a dozen men should start up here, so hostile to hearing the words of truth and soberness, when spoken in relation to the institution of slavery, as to try to galeis me down

I had spoken of the cause of Africa's demoralization and barbarism. I had spoken of the type of civilization which it is proposed to offer her as an example, and I had shown how impious was the argument which would attribute to the All-good and the All-powerful, such a tardy, cruel, circuitous method of effecting her regeneration, which, after waiting through slow centuries of agony and crime, would send her such a civilization by such messengers! I have only to add that before I would accept any such theology as this, I would seek my creed among the old mythologies of the heathen. In this hideous doctrine, which slavery has now forced upon that public intellect which it had before depraved, there is material sufficient for eight anti "Bridgewater Treaties," all dis-proving the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God.

Another obyious consequence of the avistance of circum. I had spoken of the cause of Africa's demoraliza

tises," all dis-proving the wisdom, the power, and the goodmess of God.

Another obvious consequence of the existence of slavery
in this country, has been the criminal remissness of the Government in suppressing the slave trade on the coast of Africa.
We have refused to enter into treaties with European Governments to secure so desirable an end; and authentic documonts, developing the horrors of this traffic, and proving
American-built merchant ships to be engaged in it, have laid
on the files of the State Department for years, and through
whole presidential terms, unnoticed. On such an appalling
crime as this, whose suppression has been within our reach,
the national conscience has been beaumbed intotorpidity and
paralysis, by the existence of slavery among us.

ROSSUTH AND SLAVERY.

EOSUTH AND SLAVERY.

Look at another instance where slavery has depraved the popular sentiment of the country. Under the generous and chivalric lead of Mr. Clay, with what enthusiasm did we hail the birth of the South American Republics! What hosannahs did we shout forth for the emancipation of Greece! How deep the sigh of the nation's heart when Poland struggled in her death-agon, and breathed her last! Even so late as 1848, this Congress sent resolutions congratulating France on her Magna Charta of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." In one of the European revolutions of that year, on the banks of the Danube, a young man sprang, at a single bound, from comparative obscurity to universal fame. His heroism organized armies. His genius created resources. He abolished the factitious order of nobility, but his exalted soul poured the celestial ichor of the gods through ten millions of peasant hearts, and made them truly noble. Though weak in all but the emergies of thi soul, yet it took two mighty empires to break down his pow m. When he sought refuge in Turkey, the sympathics of the civilized world attended his scale. He was invited to our shores. He came, and spoke as man never before spake. It was Byron's wish that he could condense all the raging elements of his soul

"into one word,
And that one word were lightning."

Kossuph found what Byron in vain prayed for; for all his words were lightning;—not bolts, but a lambent lame, which he poured into men's hearts;—not to kill, but to animate with a more exalted and a diviner life. flame, which he poured into men's hearts;—not to kill, but to animate with a more exalted and a diviner life. In cities where the vast population went forth to hall him; in academic halls, where the cultivation of eloquence and knowledge is made the business of life; in those great gathering places, where the rivers of people have their confluence, he was addressed by the most eloquent men whom this nation of orators could select.— More than five hundred of our selectest speakers spoke speeches before him, which they had laboriously prepared from history, and embellished from the poets, with severe toil, by the long-trimmed lamp. Save in two or three peculiar cases, his unprepared and improvised replies, in eloquence, in pathos, in dignity, in exalted sentiment, excelled them all. For their most profound philosophy, he gave them deeper generalizations; he ophy, he gave them deeper generalizations; he routted their widest ranges of thought, and in the

rain make any with the native tribes on the banks of the New with mode of tradic ...

"At a certain time of the year," asys Dr. Shaw, "they the Moors, hack this journey in a numerous current restores the pine appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, knives, acissors, and such like trinkets. When they arrive the pine appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, which they are not always the pine appointed, which is on such a day of the moon like very large and the pine appointed, which is on such a day of the moon like the pine appointed, which is on such a day of the moon layer the pine appointed, which is on such a day of the moon layer the pine appointed to the pine appointed to the pine appointed to the latter. In this manner they transact their exhaust which the latter. In this manner they transact their exhaust with the foreign of custom-house any of their involves of the latter. In this manner they transact their exhaust with the foreign of custom-house involves, through adulteration the foreign of custom-house involves, through adulteration after the pine appointment of the pine

Almost without exception, the Northern opponents of Kossuth were smpathizers with Southern slave-ry, and therefore with Francis Joseph and Nicho-

The person of this truly noble Hungarian has leparted from our shores; but he has left behind him a spirit that will never die. He has scattered seeds of liberty add truth, whose flowers and fruit will become honors and glorious amaranthine. I trust he goes te battle for the right, not with the trust he goes to battle for the right, not with the tongue and pen alone, but with all the weapons that freedom can forge and wield. Before the Divine government I bow in reverence and adoration; but it tasks all my philosophy and all my religion to believe that the despots of Europe have not exerted their irresponsible and other tyranies too long. It seems too long since Charles was brought to the axe, and Louis to the guillotine. Liberty, humanity, justice, demand more modern instances. The time has fully come when the despot, not the patriot, should feel the executioner's steel or least The time has fully come when if the oppressed de-mand their inalienable and Heaven-born rights of their oppressors, and this demand is denied, they should say, not exactly in the language of Patrick should say, not exactly in the language or Fatrick Henry "Give me liberty or give me death,"—that was noble language in its day, but we have now reached an advanced stage in human development, and the time has fully come when the oppressed if their rights are forcibly denied them, should say to the oppressors: "Give me liberty, or I will give you hand?"

SLAVERY DEBAUCHES PUBLIC SENTIMENT. I have said one of the collateral consequences of davery in this country has been to depraye, corrup and debauch public sentiment. When, before, in the history of the world, has it ever happened that the leading men of a Republic, and the leading organs of public sentiment supported by their wealth, have become abettors and champions of slavery!— Yet such is the morally hideous spectacle our cour

y now exhibits.
When before, in the history of the world, hav the most influential minds in the community la-bored and striven to blot out, theoretically, and practically, the ineffacable distinction between a an and a brute, between a human soul and as nanimate chattle, to plant and enroot in our civil policy a vast, expanding system, in which con-cience, reason, the capacities of religion, and the inborn convictions accountablity are made subserv-ient and secondary to the bones and muscles, and put upon auction blocks as incidents to the poor that perishes! When before, in all our history, have men in eloquence and power ever traverced the country, and scatered letters and speeches, like the flakes of a snow-storm, and subdue and harmonize the public mind to such stupendous wrongs! When be ore, since the Mayflower crossed the ocean with hea precious burden, has any one minister of the Puritan stock ever dared or even desired to put on priests robes and enter the house of God, to defend slavery or to palliate it? Sir, such things were never known before. It is a new spectacle for men and angles. It must give a new joy to the world of darkness.

THE HIGHER LAW.

Another collateral effect which slavery has produced, is the promulgation from the Halls of Congress, and also from—what in such cases, is not the sacred, but the projane desk—that there is no "Higher Law" than the Constitution, or than any interpretation which any corrupt Congress may put upon it. Such a doctrine is nothing less than palpable and flagrant atheism. If I are hourd to obey any human law or constitution, as nothing less than palpable and flagrant atheism. If I am bound to obey any human law or constitution, as my paramount rule of duty, thenceforth that rule becomes my supreme arbiter, judge, and god; and I am compelled, by logical necessity, to abjure, renounce, and depose all others. There cannot be two supreme rules of right. If I acknowledge myself bound by the divine law, and that comes in conflict with the human law, then I must disobey the latter. But if the human law be the Higher Law, and if it conflicts with God's law, then I am bound to disobey the law of God. If law be the Higher Law, and it it conflicts with God's law, then I am bound to disobey the law of God. If the "Higher Law," then we, on taking our seats in this House, and all magistrates and legislators, when entering upon the duties of their respective offices, ought not to take an oath before God to support the Constitution, but ought to swear by the Constitution to support that first, and God afterwards; provided it is convenient. I say, then, that this doctrine—which is one of the off-shoots of slavery—that there is no higher law than the law of the State, is palpable and practical atheism. And yet it is perfectly well known to all who hear me, and to all who frequent the purlieus of Congress, that there is no butt of ridicule so common here, nothing

which so readily and so frequently raises the "loud laugh that speaks the vacant mind."

Sir, it is of fearful omen, when the laws of men are made, even in theory, to take precedence and override the laws of God. And the last aggravation is added to this inputity when the addition descripes himself. his iniquity, when the politician disguises himself be-teath the garb of a priest, and cloaks his wickedness inder the show of religion.

No person feels a profounder reverence, or would

pay a sincerer homage to a Godly, sin-avoiding sin-exposing priesthood, than myself. But I have no ade-quate words to express my abhorrence for the clerical hypocrite, with whom religion is neither a sanctification of the soul, nor a purification of the body, but on-ly a kind of policy of insurance against the retribution in another world for sins committed in this, accompan-ied all the while by knavish tricks on the part of the insured to cheat the Divine Insurer out of His pre-Mr. Sutherland. I ask the gentleman from Massa-

mr. Sumeriand. I ask the gentleman from Massa-chusetts whether it is possible that the higher law of God can come in conflict with the Constitution? Mr. Mann. I think it would be better to ask wheth-er the Constitution comes in conflict with the higher Mr. Sutherland. I ask the gentleman if every Amer

Mr. Sutherland. I ask the gentleman if every American citizen does not obey the higher law of God when he obeys every part of the Constitution? And can any good result come from discussing these immaterial abstractions? Is not the spirit of the Constitution accordance with the higher law! Can you point to a clause in the Constitution which, when fulfilling to the best of my ability, would make me violate the higher law of God?

Mr. Mann. That is not to the point.

Mr. Sutherland. It is the very point. You and others—I say it with all possible respect—disturb the harmony of this House and the country by trying to get up issues upon abstract questions of morality, which have nothing whatever to do with the proceedings of this House, or with correct public sentiment. If I should undertake to make an issue between you and me upon the subject of slavery, it would be wrong. Yet you get

the subject of slavery, it would be wrong. Yet you get up here and attempt to make this issue before the country. You get up an immaterial question of morality, which simply tends to excite men without any practical benefit.

Mr. Mann. I hope the gentleman will not interrup Mr. Mann. I hope the gentleman will not interrupt me further. His argument would have answered just as well in the time of Herod, the Tetrarch, when he issued the order for the murder of all the children under two years of age. The murderers doubtless got ten dollar commission fees for the deed. So those who massacred thirty-six thousand Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day at the ringing of a signal-bell, went by the "Higher Law" of the Pope, or of his vicegerent, the King; and had not they their "Union" to save by it! And our Pilgrim Fathers were driven into exile by the "higher law" of hierchical Parliament. And so if you admit this doctrine, there is no enormity actual or conceivable, which may not be perpetrated and justified undersity.

Now, sir I do not believe in preaching against theoretical and distant sins, and letting real and present ones excape. I do not believe in denouncing Hindous suttees, because they are on the other side of the globe, and defending the extension of slavery in our own land. That sin has the beguiling defence of office and profits not less than ours. But that sin destroys only the body; ours the soul. The modern clergymen of the "lower law" school can select some monster of the Old Testament—Darius, Nebuchadnezzar, or Jeroboam—and hold them up for exectation, while they suffer the greater moral monsters of their own parishes to escape with impunity. They have no mercy for Jeroboam, old hunker though he was, because he "drove Israel from following the Lord," more especially as there was no chance for the Presidency, nor any tariff nor sale of dry goods to the South to tempt him. But they forget that each and all of the worst sinners whose names blacken the page of history had their accompanying temptations, and their casuistry for self-defence, just as much as the offenders of our day. They forget that when posterity looks backwards upon great crimes, as they stand out in historic relief, they are seen in their foul nakedness and deformity, and without any of the palliations or pretexts by which their wickedness was softened to the tempted eye of the perpetrator. They forget that it will be as true of the crimes of our day, as of ancient ones, when the evanescent circumstances of the seduction have passed by—that then they, too, forget that it will be as true of the crimes of our day, as of ancient ones, when the evanescent circumstances of the seduction have passed by—that then they, too, will stand out in the foreground of the historic canvass, in their full proportions, and their native deformity, hideous, unmitigated, and execrable. Had not Ananias and Sapphira a temptation every whit as strong to keep back from the apostles a part of the price of their possessions, as though they had been offered a sinceure chaplaincy in the Navy for defending the furitive slave law? We have historic proof that Benedict Arnold attempted to justify his treason, on the ground that he was seeking the best good of the colonies, just as his followers in our times seek to justify tremselves by the far less plausible plea of saving the Union.

I know it is said, that if the doctrine of the "Higher Law" is admitted, all laws will be set at naught, and civil government be overthrown. All history refutes Law is admitted, all laws will be set at naught, and civil government be overthrown. All history refutes this; for, of all the men who have ever lived, those who contend for the higher law of God have universally been the most faithful and obedient, when human laws were coincident with the divine. That identical principle in our nature, which makes us true to the will of God, makes us also true to all the just commands of men.*

FALSE INTERPRETATIONS OF LAW.

Another consequence of most evil portent has grown out of the late political enthusiasm for siavery—I mean a false interpretation of the law of treason. Sir, you know, and we all know, that under the bloody reigns of a false interpretation of the law of treason. Sir, you know, and we all know, that under the bloody reigns of British tyrants, treason by construction was the great engine of political and personal vengeance. Under the old doctrine of constructive treason, if living lips dared to preach, the gospel of freedom, they were forced to preach, the doctrine of abject submission to ungodly laws, for the heads they belonged to were decapitated and borne on soldiers' pikes through the streets of cities, and hung up to fester and rot at all the city gates. I could occupy the day with the recital of instances, where the purest innoceance and the noblest virtues fell a sacrifice to a forced and arbitrary construction of the law of treason. Having lately looked through those English cases, I now declare that they were not one whit a greater outrage upon the English law, than was Judge Kane's charge to the jury in the Christiana cases. Both had in view the same object, to put down agitation for freedom, and Lord Jeffrey's expositions, were as plausible as Judge Kane's.

To exclude all possibility of constructive treason, under our Constitution, its framers defined that offence in the following words:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them: or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Judge Kane says, that whatever would make a man an accessory to the crime, in any other felony, makes him a principal in this; when the very intent of a new definition of our Constitution was so far to abrogate the English law. The emphatic word only, in our definition, expressly excludes the accessory. It is only the man who levies the war, or the man who adheres to the enemies of the country, who is, or, under our Constitution, can be a traitor. The other interpretation opens

man who levies the war, or the man who agneres to use enemies of the country, who is, or, under our Constitution, can be a traitor. The other interpretation opens the door to all the constructive treasons known to the worst days of English judicial tyranny—the very door which the framers of our Constitution intended to lock and double lock, and fasten impregnably.

And again: the doctrine of accessories and the relational and again the doctrine of accessories to miscipals. Was a part of the And again; the doctrine of accessories and the rea-tion of accessories to principals, was a part of the English common law. That common law, these United States never adopted, as has been decided again and again, and therefore there can be no accessories in

treason, by construction.

And besides all this, the seventh section of the fugi-And besides all this, the seventh section of the fugi-tive slave law provides a penalty for every act which a man can commit in assisting the escape of a slave; so that, if any such set were treason before, it is no longer so; for no legal principle is better settled than that when a subsequent statute reduces the penalty provided in a previous one, the previous act is so far repealed, even without any repealing words. On any ground, there-fore, the charge of Judge Kane is only inferior in monstrousness to the law whose inherent atrocity he sought to aggravate. A similar attempt to create constructive treason was made in the Syracuse cases; but the air of Western

nade in the Syracuse cases; but the air of Western New York, being more electric with freedom, had a salutary effect upon the health of the court. Would to Heaven that these healthful breezes of the country could reach and sweep away the judicial miasma that

could reach and sweep away the judicial miasma that stagnates upon our Atlantic cities.

The district attorney at Syracuse, having rendered himself obnoxious by the inordinate zeal with which he pursued the suspected in the rescue cases, at that city, I was glad to see it stated in newspapers that the ladies of the place had a meeting, and sent him a present of thirty pieces of silver. They were three-cent pieces, however—ninety cents in the whole! The ancient Judas got larger pieces. Such, however, is now the rivalry to fill his place, that the competitors must content themselves with smaller coin. content themselves with smaller coin.

It was said also, that when Jerry, the alleged fugitive in that case, reached Her Majesty's dominions, he put the irons with which he had been "dressed" into a nice box and sent them to President Fillmore. When

the signer of the fugitive slave law unboxed these iron and unwrapped them, and first took in the full signi cance of their meaning, it must have presented a scene worthy of the highest art of the historic painter! I trust it so happened that they were received and opened at a Cabinet meeting.

SLAVERY PROSTITUTES OUR LEADING MEN. And under this prolific head of the collateral cor

quences of slavery, I say again, and finally, where else, since the light of the Christian era first dawned upon the world, has it everbeen known that the leading men of a young Republic espoused the side of slavery? It is unnatural as parricide. Look at the Republics of Switzerland, or at the States General of Holland. Switzerland, or at the States General of Holland. Look at France at the period of the great revolution, when in her maddened throes for liberty, after fifteen centuries of oppression, one of her first acts was the recognition of the natural and universal freedom of man. Look at the South American Republics, composed as they mainly were of Catholics, who for ages had been inured to bodily and mental thraldom, and amongst whom slavery was an existing institution, as it was here when our Declaration of Independence was propulated with by a public act of moral heroism they cast nere when our Declaration of Independence was pro-mulgated, yet by a noble act of moral heroism they cast the incubus away. Yes, I repeat, ours is the first Re-public since Christ died for men whose leaders have disowned and deserted the principles of their govern-ment, and become the willing champions of the most remorseless of despotisms.

Sir, I may as well remark here as anywhere, in order to make any honest misconstruction of my views in

Sir, I may as well remark nere as anywhere, in order to make any honest misconstruction of my views im-possible, that when I speak of the all comprehending possible, that when I speak of the all comprehending wickedness of slavery—when I say that it is in relation to the crimes and wrongs of men—what the Primum Mobile was in the ancient systems of astronomy—and all encircling and all-upholding concave, within which every wrong and every crime has its natural home—when I affirm this, I affirm it of the system or institution of slavery. And to this I wish to add—what all history proves—that good men may be implicated in a bad system—as in the English hierarchy, which I record as a virious system of church sovernment; and regard as a vicious system of church government; and yet how many super-eminently great, and good, and pious men it has produced; or, as in the Catholic reliion, which I believe to be an untrue form of Christ anity, and yet in no religion have there been brighter examples of purity and benificence. In battling to overcome the moral wrongs and errors into which a man has been born, the moral sentiments, like the intelman has been torn, the moral sentiations, and in their lect, grow heroic as they become victorious, and in their noble striyings they reach a sublimity of virtue propor-tioned to the depths of vice from which they sprang. But this does not prevent bad systems from producing their natural fruits on the mass of men.

POSITION OF THE FREE SOIL PARTY And now, having shown what a mighty wrong slavery s, in and of itself; having shown what collateral deasement, cruelty, and practical atheism it generates and diffuses, let me ask it the political Free Soil party to not go to the uttermost verge that patriot, moralist, or Christian can go, when it consents to let slavery remain where it is? There is an endeavor to make up a state of the property and for the tribunal of history. main where it is false issue for the country, and for the tribunal of history on this subject. Freesoilers are charged with interfering with slavery within the jurisdiction of the States where it is. We would not have it profane free terrihere it is. We would not have it protane free terriry. We would not allow it to double its present donin; we would not allow it to blast with nameless and
numerable woes, two thirds of our territorial area on
e Pacific coast, as it has already two thirds on the
llantic. This is all we have done. And, to the arguent that, with only about three slaves to a square mile states, must have more space, because you are becoming suffocated by so close crowding, we simply reply, that we cannot admit that argument, because it devotes the whole world to inevitable slavery. For, if you already need a greater expanse of territory for comfortable room, that, too, will soon be drowded with three slaves to a square mile, and the argument for further conquest and expansion will come back upon us.—Yielding again, the argument will speedily recur again. It will be a never-ending, still-beginning pretext for extension, until the whole world shall become a vast realm of slavery—even the free States being engulphed with the rest, so that the dove of freedom will have no spot on the surface of the globe where she can set her foot.

*What is the following fling at the "Higher Law," but ex-"When nothing else will answer, they invoke religion, and

Gibson, who was sent into bondage under it when as much entitled to his liberty as you or I, whether that law has not some bearing on a practical quession. Are not the Baltimore edicts before the country? And have they no practical libearing, when their very purpose is to suppress free speech; and when that purpose has been executed again and again?—and the attempt has been made here, within the last half hour, upon me, to enforce it?

LOWER LAW DIVINES.

Now, sir I do not believe in preaching against theoretical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and distant sins, and letting real and present retical and one of the republican sentiment of this country;—notwithstanding all this, the Baltimore Conventions decree that the subject of slavery shall be agitated among us no more forever.

ignon, truin—are struct out of the solutions in their maniacal partizanship.

The noblest men whom God has ever sent into the world,—patriots, reformers, philanthropists, apostles, and Jesus Christ himself, are on the side of freedom. and Jesus Christ himself, are on the side of freedom. Tyrants, usurpers, traitors, men stealers, the wholesale murderers and robbers of nations, are on the side of slavery. The Baltimore Convention enlists under the banners of the latter. They affiliate with the House of Happsburgh, and with Nicholas; with the King of Naples and with the "Prince-President" of France. One might almost have supposed that they had plagarized their resolves from the Paris Moniteur, where that

one might amost have supposed that they had pigarized their resolves from the Paris Moniteur, where that ape who mimics the imperial grandeur he cannot comprehend, records histyrannical decrees against freedom of speech.—Louis Napoleon decreed free discussion out of existence in France. Six hundred men at Baltimore decreed the same thing for this country. The ape succeeded; they fell.

And how are these resolves to be construed, provided new questions respecting slavery arise, or questions already started are precipitated upon us? Should an attempt to annex Cuba, in order still further to aggrandize the slave power, be made—and if General Pierce should be elected, such attempts doubtless will be made—or should a new State, with a slave constitution, from California, apply for admission; or should Mexico be again dismembered to form new slave territory and new slave States; in the occurrence of these events, or of either of them, how are these Baltimore resolutions to be then construed? We know perfectly well what claim will be set up It will be said that the new events come within the terms of the prohibition—the casus facetris—and bind the nation to silence. It will be claimed that the resolutions cover not only all subjects, but all time; and enslave our children as well as ourbut all time; and enslave our children as well as ou

WHY THE OLD PARTIES INTERDICT DISCUSSION. I have exposed the character and extent of those resolutions. Let me now expose their motive.— I charge upon those Conventions the base motive of attempling to silence discussion by force—as in this House and in the Senate the same spirit once rejected petitions, and would now silence debate-because they are conscious they cannot meet it by argument. The fugitive slave law, for instance, is assailed by the jurist, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unchristian, and by every one who has the sentiment of humanity in his bosom, for it is unheard-of cruelty. The upholders o that law can answer no one of these arraignments. Their only resource, therefore, is the dastardly de nial of discussion and free speech. Like Louis Napoleon, who, having no possibility of reply to the accusation of treachery, perjury, and usurpation, forbids the accusation to be made. Among all our constitutional judges, and among all those mock judges called complete over the contract of the contrac judges called commissioners, there is not one who has met the arguments against the unconstitutionwe find he decided it to be constitutional, because Judge Spriggins had held it to be so. Chief Justice sachussetts, whom I regard as one of the ablest judges who ever administered the com-mon law, any where, virtually admitted, in the Sims case, that if the question of the constitu ality of this law were a new one, the affirmative could not be sustained. I repeat, then, it is da tardly order to keep silence, because they cannot meet discussion. Necessity is their only defence

"——and what necessity.

The tyrant's piec excuse their devilish deed. UNCONSTITUTIONALITY.

Let me state in a few simple propositions the unconstitutionality of the fugitive slave law, which has been so much elaborated elsewhere Excepting the Army and Navy, the Constitution of the United States declares that "no person shall * be deprived of life, liberty, or property,

without due process of law." It also declares that "in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury Now, every case of claim for an alleged slave ne-

shall be preserved." cessarily involves both the question of liberty, and the question of property.

By the constitution of every free State in this Union, every person within it is presumed to be a free man; or, in other words, there is never any

free man; or, in other words, there is never any prima facie presumption that any man within it is a slave. Every man is presumptively free until proved to be otherwise. If the civil condition or status of slavery is to be fastened upon any one, it must be done by the decission of a tribunal having jurisdiction over liberty and property—that is, by court and jury. The prima facie evidence that a man is free entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man. But under this fugitive slave law, a man's prima facie right to the tribunal and the trial of a free man is taken away, not by court and jury, but by a complaint and warrant. A claimant demands a human being presumptively free as his slave, and that mere demand is made to cancel the presumtion of freedom and self-ownership, to take him away from a freeman's tribunal of court and jury and to carry him for trial before a slave tribunal that is, a commissioner. It is replied that the de-cision of the commissioner that he is a slave, and not a free man, proves that he had no right to the ribunal and the trial of a free man; I retort, that before an unbought, unbribed, freeman's tribunal, there might have been a contrary decision; but you prejudged him to be a slave, by carrying him before a slave tribunal, and you robbed him of the first right of a free man, by depriving him of a freeman's tribunal and trial. For him, and tor his case, you abolish the trial by jury. And if by virtue of such complaint and warrant you can deprive any person, in any free State, of trial by jury, you can by the same rule deprive all the men in all the free States of this trial-that is, you can abolish that trial for all this class of cases, and then, by equivalent leg islation you can abolish it in all cases whatever.— Where, then, is that right to a trial by jury which the constitution declares "shall be preserved!"

The law, then, palpably is unconstitutional, be-

cause it takes from a man presumptively free the right to be tried as a freemar; and it is because the Baltimore Conventions cannot answer this argument, that they forbid its promulgation.

And besides this, the proofs which the law provides for and declares conclusive are abhorrent to reason, to common sense, and to the common law. It provides that evidence taken in a Southern State, at any time or place which a claimant may select, without any notice, or any possibility of knowledge on the part of the person to be robbed and enslaved by it, may be clandestinely carried or sent to any place where it is to be used, and there spring upon its victim, as a wild beast springs from its jungle

upon the passer-by; and it provides that this evidence, thus surreptiously taken and used, shall be conclusive proof of the fact of slavery and of escape from slavery. It does not submit the sufficiency of the evidence to the judgement of the tribunal; but it arbitrarily makes it conclusive whether sufficient or not. It abolishes the common law distinction between competency and credibility. Indeed, it abolishes the elementary idea of a court of justice itself, considered a tribunal whose functions are first and chiefest, to hear both sides, and then to discern between truth and falsehood. The heathen emblem of justice was that of a goddess, holding ballances in her hand, and weighing with holy ex-actness all conflicting probabilities and testimonies. The true emblem of this law would be that of some

Glossin lawyer, clutching at ten dollars as a bribe and trampling the sacred ballances under foot, What would the Southern gentlemen who hear me, say, if, while attending to your duties in this Hall, a miscreant in any Northern city or State, without knowledge or possibility of knowledge on your part, should now be suborning witnesses to obtain evidence that your house, your plantation or cotton crop was his, and by and by should make his appearance on your premises demanding instant possession, and, in case of refusal, or demur, should drag you before some ten dollar magistrate, read his conclusive proof, while you are forced to be dumb! And yet this fugitive slave law is as much more at rogious than that would be, as liberty is more pre

ious than pelf.

bly away from home to Maryland, as a slave, by the authority and at the expense of the United States, he was set adrift and left to find his way back as he could.

Of the first eight persons doomed to slavery un-

Of the first eight persons doomed to slavery under this law, four were free men.

When this dreadful law was first broached, it
was said that we might rely upon the intelligence
and integrity of the Southern courts to send into
the land of freedom no certificates that would doom
men to bondage unless founded upon competent
and undoubted testimony. But in the case of Daniel, who was tried before Mr. Commissioner Smith,
at Buffalo, the claimant never carried a single witness before the court that made the record of slavery and of escape. The Southern court made the ry and of escape. The Southern court made the record on affidavits only, and then gave the claimrecord on affidavits only, and then gave the claimant a certified copy of it, without ever seeing or hearing a witness in the case. These affidavits were given by nobody knews whom, and sworn to by nobody knows whom—perhaps not sworn to at all, but forged for the occasion; yet on sight of them the commissioner pronounced Daniel to be a slave. It afterwards turned out on a hearing before Judge Conkling of the U. States court, that there never had been one particle or scintilla of evidence before the commissioner on which his ten dollar certificate of slavery was founded.

In another case, in Philadelphia, Commissioner lngraham decided some point directly against law and authority; and when a decision of a judge of the United States court was produced against him, he coolly said, he differed from the judge, made out the certificate, pocketed the ten dollars, and sent a human being into bondage. There could be no appeal from this iniquity, for the law allows none.

In another case, before Mr. Commissioner Halett, of Boston, where white persons were examined, on a charge of rescuing an alleged slave, he admitted this foreign evidence of a State court, taken in secret against the native-born citizens of a free State.

And yet, with all these abominations on the face And yet, with all these abominations on the lace of the law, and after this long train of outrages in its administration, the Baltimore Whig resolutions, which, perhaps, are the less iniquitous of the two, declare that the law shall not be modified, unless "time and experience" shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers. How low down must these men live, that they do not call what has already happened an abuse!

happened an abuse!

A story is current respecting the origin of this law, for whose authenticity I cannot personally vouch; but it certainly carries verisimilitude on its face. The bill is said to have been concocted by a Southern disunionist, anxious for some pretext to break up the Republic, and who therefore prepared a bill so unconstitutional, so abominable and fiend-ish, that, as he believed, even the recklessness of Northern servility must spurn it. He would then make its rejection his war cry for disunion. But, alas! he had not fathomed the baseness of But, alas! he had not tathomed the baseness of Northern politicians. What a Southern "fire-eater" thought too unrighteous for any human being to touch, the Northern aspirants for the Presidency adopted "with alacrity," and rolled as a sweet morsel under their tongues. Now, both Whig and Democratic Conventions re-affirm the law, and attribute to it a sacredness and a permanency unknown to the Constitution itself.

Sir. when I survey, one after another, the horrid

Sir, when I survey, one after another, the horrid features of this law—its palpable violation both of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution; its the letter and the spirit of the Constitution; its contempt and defiance of that great organic law, the Declaration of Independence, and of the whole spirit and acts and lives of our revolutionary fathers; its repugnance to all the noblest maxims and principles of the British Constitution, consecrated and hallowed as these have been from age to age by patriot's struggles and martyrs' blood; its fabrication of such a code of evidence as was never before placed on the statute-book of any civilized nation; its provisions for deciding conclusively the question of a man's liberty, in what is to him a foreign tribunal, without the possibility of his appearing there to confront witnesses, or even of knowing what the conspirators against him are doing; its peremptory orders to seize a man and the unspeakably precious question of his freedom and self-ownership, "in a summary manner," when even robbers, pirates and murderers, must have notice of their accusation, adequate time to prepare for defence and counsel for assistance. their accusation, adequate time to prepare for de-fence and counsel for assistance; its bribing magistrates to decide against liberty, and in favor of slavery, and its creation of a set of officers, some of whom have so decided as to prove themselves capable of accepting a bribe; its execution of the capable of accepting a orne; its execution of the dreadful sentence without appeal or writ of error; its repudiation of the statute of limitations, (the policy of which is recognized by all civilized nations, not only in case of debt, but in regard to the title of real estate, and even in regard so that a master who has abandoned his slave for forty years can come and pluck him from wife and forty years can come and pluck him from wife and children, from home, property, and friends; and when, further, I see the practical workings of this law;—free northern citizens carried into bondage; southern professors in the art of kidnapping, chas-ing the shricking fugitive from all his hiding places and his altars; monster fathers pursuing the chil-dren of their own loins, as lately happened in New York, to sell them into slavery; the virtuous wo-man hunted by the lecher, from whose whips and man hunted by the lecher, from whose whips and man hunted by the lecher, from whose whips and scourging she has fled, to avoid his guilty embrace; thousands of laborious and peaceable citizens amongst us, surrounded by self-earned comfort and competence, fleeing from all the endearing relations of kindred and neighborhood, out of a republic into a monarchy, to regain the lost birth-right of freedom—thus re-enacting the scenes of the Huguer than the competence of the whole, an entire race of free ing cruelty of the whole, an entire race of free people, of innocent people, of people whose ances-tors fought and fell in the battles of the Revolution, and who have as much right, not merely to security and protection, but to the feeling of security and protection, under our Government, as you or I—when I see these people, filled with cor-nation and dismay for themselves and for or I—when I see these people, filled with consternation and dismay for themselves and for their
children, tremble when they look around them
upon the earth, lest some tiger, in human shape,
should spring from his ambush and seize them, and
plunge them into slavery's hell, and trembling
when they look upward into the sky, because God
seems to have forsaken them;—sir, when I contemplate all these things, I am compelled, though
against the common faith, to acknowledge evidence
of supernatural inspiration in the hearts of men. against the common faith, to acknowledge evidence of supernatural inspiration in the hearts of men. But it is infernal and diabolical inspiration, whose evidence I recognize. Sir, this fugitive slave law was not made by man alone; for unaided, total depravity is not equal to all its atrocities. Place the law and the Baltimore edicts side by side,—the command and the prohibition together. "You shall chase the fugitive, but you shall not speak." As in the days of the early Christians, or like the Pilgriim Fathers, in the times of the non-conference. As in the days of the early Christians, or like the Pilgrim Fathers, in the times of the non conform-ists, we may hold our meetings only in dens or ists, we may note our meetings only in dens or caves, or in the most secret recesses of our dwell-ings, with doors locked and guarded. Once the bloodhounds were muzzled; now the bloodhounds are let loose and freemen are muzzled.

THE BALTIMORE RESOLUTIONS. Sir, when any humane and intelligent man reflects upon the attributes of this law, and then turns to the fiat of the Baltimore Conventions, that it shall not be agitated or discussed, he cannot

but tremble with an agony of indignation and conempt. These resolves are so subversive, not only of all divine but of all human government; they of all divine out of an numan government; they are so audacious and yet so impotent; they assume so importal an air, while yet they are more imbecile than an idiot's gibberish, that the great poet of our language, whose mind supplies redundant images for all things vile and mean, has but one passage that befits the vileness of the law. To borrow his words, these Baltimore resolutions are a

"-birth-strangled babe, Ditch-delivered by a drab." Justice and gratitude, however, demand that I should say, that there were sixty-seven members of the Whig Convention who stood out bravely

and to the last against the attempted abolition of the freedom of speech. In the Democratic Con-

per of dissent.

Sir, I cannot but acknowledge that the events I nave recited have an ominous look for the cause of freedom. It seems as though the black cloud which has settled down over Europe was extending its gloomy folds across the country, to envelop in darkness and despair, the last hopes of liberty upon earth. But I have infinite faith in God and in truth. I believe that cloud to be surcharged with lightnings which will yet blast the oppressor. And lightnings which will yet blast the oppressor. And after the lightnings and the storm have passed, then shall come the day of universal freedom and

the Constitution of the Utited States, to the Decla-ration of Independence, to humanity, and to God, yet when we come to scan their proceedings more yet when we come to scan their proceedings more closely, we find they are amenable to a power they refused to acknowledge. It was there as in the ancient mythology; the gods decreed, but there was an inexorable fate standing behind the gods, and controlling their decrees. That irresistible fate, which bound the Conventions as with a spell, and hemmed in their desires and aptitudes for wrong, which was a will within their will, was the genius of northern anti-slavery.

the genius of northern anti-slavery.

There was at least half a dozen candidates The cruel fruits of this law have been such as The cruel fruits of this law have been such as the cruel fruits of this law have been such as the cruel fruits of this law have been such as the cruel fruits of this law have been such as at least one, whom the Whig Convention, under the cruel fruits of this family friends, and to the under the cruel fruits of the family friends, and to the under the cruel fruits of the family friends.